

The EARLE of
PEMBROKES
SPEECH

In the House of
PEERES,

Upon debate of the *Citie's* Petition for a
Personall Treaty, to be had with His
MAJESTY in *London*.

And also upon debate of those Reasons
given by their Lordships unto the
Commons, for not sending the
three Propositions before a
TREATY.

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P E M B R O K E ' S
 S P E E C H

*In the House of Peeres, upon debate of the
 Cities Petition for a Personall Treaty,
 to be had with His Majesty in London.*

The C I T I Z E N S being withdrawn, his Lord-
 ship spake as followeth.

My Lords,



Thank God you had no reason to make me
 your *Speaker*: And truly (all things conside-
 red) I have as little reason to be a *Speaker* as any
 man: And yet I will speak; for I have been
 learning these *seven yeares* how to do it *ex-*
trumpare. I have help't too to baul down *Bi-*
shops and *Scholars*, and *Ministers* for *dumb-dogs*, and doe you
 think I'll be a *dumb-dog* too? A *halter* I will: If I should sit
 still and say nothing, and let His Majesty come to *London*, that
 were the way to make me *dumb* indeed, for I can say no more
 for my self then a *dog*. I hope the door is fast, that the *Citi-*
zens do not hear me, because I'll speak my minde: What
 though I do not know my own minde? Yet I'll speak it as
 well as I can. 'Tis known I am a true *Englishman*, though I

cannot speak good *English*, and as honest a man too as my Lord *Say* can make me; and therefore (my Lords) now I have lived long enough with you, I meane to dye with the House of *Commons*, or else (they say) I shall be no Lord; And so say I to you: *Grasse and hay*, (my Lords) *we are all mortall*, and must be tyed up to the *Manger*.

I have been for the *City* too in my time, when they would pay their money; hear reason, and invite us to *dinners*. Hang them *Rascals*, they cannot say but we have given them their *Belly-fulls* too, (I pray God they do not hear me.) This time twelve-month they made a *young man* of me, and yet (as simple as you think me) I am an *old man*: They drew me into a *new War*, and made me waite upon a *new Speaker*, and *Vote His Majesties comming to London*: But I was a mad man, I knew not what I did then; for, if the *Army* had not had the more mercy, I had been a *Traitor* as well as the rest, for ought I know. Doe ye think then I'll *Vote the King* home againe: no I warrant you, I am an *old Bird*, and scorne *Chasse*, or to be made a *Traitor* any more for any *King* in *Christendome*. I am an *old thing* made *new* now: My man *Michael* tells me I am an *Independent*. I think I am a good *Christian*, I; but *Citizens* and *Scots* are *Jewes*: And who knowes but that *Personall-Treaty* may be a new name for *Popery*?

You may bring in *Popery*, and break the *Covenant* (if you please my Lords) but I dare not. I am sure we have reason to regard it; For we have gotten well by it: we have gotten the *Crown-Lands*, *Church-Lands*, the *Cavaliers* Lands; every mans Lands too, if we please, and the *Dewill* and all: And how shall we keep them, if we doe not keep the *Covenant*? For my part, I'll keep to my *Oathes*, and rather then part with them, *Dam me* I'll swear down all this *Personall-Treaty*.

And good reason too; for they say it will undoe all that we have been doing these seven years: And for my part, I thought all had been undone already, then what needs any
more

more undoing by a *Treaty*? My *Lords*, if we must undoe, let us undoe as the House of *Commons* does. They doe one thing to day, and undoe it to morrow. They Voted they would never make any more *Addresses to the King*, and made us *Vote* so too, and then they made us *un-vote* all again. And truly, I think this is a *hard Chapter*, for, I cannot reade the meaning of it, but I am sure they doe not mean a *Treaty*, if they can help it.

I like the way of sending *Propositions*, I; for, I love to goe on *errands*. I am sure it is an Honourable imployment for an *old man* to be the *States half-penny-Boy*; and I am glad, the *Commons* will not hear your *Reasons* for the Kings comming, before He have signed the *three Propositions*. For, observe (my *Lords*) if they should hear *Reason*, they might goe *whistle*: Mistake me not, I mean if they should hear any *Reason* but their own, and I think that is all the *Reason* in the world, for it is *Reason of State*, or the *States own Reason*. There I think I hit it; for, all other *Reason* is *Malignant* and *High-Treason*. Why then should we *Treat* with the *King*? For he'll talk *Malignant Reason*, and *reason of State* too, but then, here's the matter (my *Lords*) he will not talk the *States Reason*, and therefore judge ye, whether the *State* have any reason to talk with Him, when He will talk nothing but *Treason*, and by that meanes (my *Lords*) make you, or me, or any of us all *Traitors* to our Faces. Trust Him that will, for my part, I shall have as little to say to Him as any of you all, and yet you see I am a good *Speaker*, according to the *States Reason*.

I thinke, we never had good world, since we had so much *Reason*: For my part (I'll speak my minde plainly) I never had any reason of my own, nor will I own ever any but *Michael Oldsworth's* and the *States*, and by the life of *Pharaoh*, I think they two are as *reasonable Creatures* as any in the world. But to this point of *Reason* I mean to speak more, now I come to examine your *Lordships Reasons of State*, which the House of *Commons* have Voted contrary to the *States Reason*: For,

as I take it (my Lords) they are the STATE, and you know we are all bound to submit to the STATE, or else we are *Traitors*; I am sure few of us but have been made so for not submitting, and 'tis *Gods mercy* we are not all *Traitors*. Howsoever, I'll be one no more, if I can help it, but keep as well as I can to the *States Reason*, and I advise your *Lordships* to doe so too; for they care not a *Fig* for all your *Reasons*, nor I neither. *s' Death*, I am sure some of you have no reason to the contrary; you know how you were whip't with the *Black-Rod lately*; and I can tell you, there's a *black-Book* too at the *Head-Quarters*: If you'll *doe reason*, ye may, but (mark ye, my *Lords*) it's very dangerous to *talk Reason*, it's the only way to be put in the *black-Book*, and then you know the *black-Rod* follows. I am an *old man*, I, and some of you are old enough too, but (you see) we are not *past whipping*, and yet you will not take warning.

Howsoever, I shall have a care of one, and in the mean time see what reason you have to venture to talk *Reason* to the STATE. If you were their *Fellow-Commoners*, you might have some *reason* to make bold to give them *Reasons*, but being as it is, me thinks you might know your distance. You say you would not have the three propositions offered to the King before the *Treaty*; First, *because the CitiZens here, and diverse Counties have petitioned for it*. The *CitiZens*! 'Tis true, they have brought us in a *Petition* here for it. But the more *Rascals* they: They may go home & say their *Prayers*; for, they are not like to be heard here. What do they *pray* when they should *curse*? *Dam me* do they think the *States* a *Camelion* to live upon aire, good words, and *Petitions*, and *Treaties*? They were all for a *new-war*, and drew me in too this time *Twelve moneths*, & now they are against a *new-war*. Is there any *Reason* in this, when the *States* have not yet done their businesse: must They *doe and undoe* as wel as the STATE, and now by doing nothing quite undoe the STATE: They shal be *hang'd* first,

Dam

Dam me they shal: I am somewhat the more eager against this, (my *Lords*) because you say 'tis *Reason*; but yet I hope the Citizens do not hear me. I would not have all that I speak, to be spoken on the *House-Tops*, because usually (my *Lords*) I seldome speak, but I am *o'th Top of the House* before I am aware. But this I say, why should they stand for *Peace* and *Treaties*, that first set afoot the *war*? And now when we expect they should serve another *Apprentiship* to the *STATE* to maintain the *war*, they meant to leave *Reformation* like *Dun in the mire*, and are become so *Popish* as to *Crosse* us with *Treaties*. If they were for a *new-war* this time *Twelve-month*, 'tis all the *Reason* in the world they should be so now. What though the *Case* be not the same, nor the *STATE* the same now that it was then? I hope the *Cause* & the *State* are alive stil, and wil be as long as the *King* and the *Cavaliers* live; & out-live them too; for, They are the *Same* stil, and fitter for *another world* then the *STATES world*: For the *STATES world* runs round, and hath done so these seven years, but the *King* and the *Cavaliers* are the same stil: And therefore (my *Lords*) I shal conclude with as good *Logick* as any I have left in the *University*, as long as the *King* and the *Cavaliers* are the same, the *CAUSE* must needs be the same, though the *STATE* be not the same, but mangled, and rent, and patch't, and *new-modeld*, and the *Covenant* likewise crackt all to pieces. And where is your *Reason* now (my *Lords*?) doth it not follow then, that they ought not to take the same Course to maintain the *war* against the *King* and the *Cavaliers*, and not trouble the *STATE* thus with *Treaties*? especially, seeing *Guild-Hall* is the same, the *Excise*, the *City-Bags*, and *Publique Faith* too, are all the very same stil, and as full and fluent as ever. And if these fellows that come here to vex the *STATE* thus with *Petitions*, will not go home in *Peace*, to forward a *new-war*, and be the same men again that they have been, I hope the *Army* will come & pickle them up in the *Tower*, & serve them the Same

Sauce

Sauce, their fellows had this time *Twelve month*. For what other end (I pray you) do we keep the *Army*, or the *Army* keep us?

And now (my *Lords*) that I have done with the *Citizens*, I shall fall upon the *Counties*. What have they to do with *Petitions*? they are out of their *Calling*: they should follow the *Plough*, and let the *STATE* alone to *Harrow*, and fetch in *Harvest*. I warrant you they had rather have a *King*, and see us *Quarter'd*, then indure any more *free-Quarter*; but I think the *States-Guard* quarter'd them sufficiently, and made *drawn-Cats* of 'em, I mean the *Surrey-men*, so that I think they, or the rest, will have little stomach again to come a *Petitioning*. What reason then (my *Lords*) have you to regard what They say for a *Treaty*? They can but talk (you see) and the *State* can fight, and be nee'r the more *Traitors* for it; but if these fight, they are *Traitors* presently, as soon as we have conquer'd them. I tell you (my *Lords*) if the *STATE* had voted me a *Soldier*, I would have no more mercy upon these *Fellows* than if they were *Traitors* in gingerbread. What though They would bite? I have ventur'd ere now the tender'st *Member* that I have, with a *biting* Thing, and layn in a month for it under the *Surgeons* hands; and I'll venture my *Tongue* with any *Biter* of them all, but I'll be sure to have a care of my *Head* for the service of the *STATE*; and who knows, whether I may keep it if there be a *Treaty*? But I wonder what good my head would do them: I am not weary of it yet, for, I never much troubled it, nor have been much troubled with it, and yet I should be much troubled to part with it. 'Tis true, I for my part never got any thing by it, and I suppose no *Body* else will: Therefore they had as good let it alone. But neither you have any *Reason* to venture yours, nor I mine; and therefore to this part of your reason (my *Lords*) I say the *Counties* are as very *Rascals* as the *Citizens*, that would have us to pull an *old House* upon our *Heads* by a *Personall Treaty*. They would have a disbanding of the *Army* too,
would

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would they? But they shall snap short; For, I love the Army, Dammee I do dearly. Sink me, they would have us *disband* I think too, and sit no longer; but if the Army will love us, wee'll love the Army; for, why should the *Counties* be so much against the Soldiers, poore wretches! Consider (my Lords) an'twere your owne case; for, it might have pleased God to have made some of us Soldiers. And so (my Lords) I think I have maul'd your first reason against the three Propositions.

Your second Reason is, because *His Majesty hath often declared, that he will signe nothing till all things be concluded, and therefore that the sending of those three must needs cause delay to the Treaty.* I would have you to know (my Lords) I am not for *delayeres*, I hate them; for, I think I am as hasty as any man; but yet I care not, if we delay a Treaty with God or the King till *Dooms-day*, and that I think is a faire time: for, it may be to morrow for ought we know: And it is a very fit time, I think, since His Majesty will agree to nothing till the conclusion of all things. I wish him well, he was my Master, but I care not much for seeing him, nor for *kissing* his hand; I can kisse my Lady *May*, and she is my *Mistresse*. I care not for kissing of men: I am an old man, and it is not for me to be *kissing*: but if she be for a *personall Treaty*, then indeed this Reason holds good against *delay*, and I am of your opinion.

Then you say too, it is *contrary to the rules of treating to grant any thing before the Treaty.* Have we done what we list all this while, and must we go by *Rule* now? Then it will follow too, that we must let the King rule again. He is in a fine condition to rule, is he not? I thought we could have ruled one another better than he. I am sure my Lord *SAT* rules me, as well as ever I would desire; and I believe he rules you as well as me;

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and then we can never be against the Rules of *Treating*, as long as he *rules the Roste*, because he sayes a *Treaty* is out of all *Rule*, and none but *unruly Fellowes* do stand for it, and it is not for our Honours (my Lords) to be *unruly*: But *Dammee*, I think we cannot be unruly; for, we have as good a disciplin'd *Army* as any is in the world to rule us.

But I say further, that it was the *desire of the Scots* to have His Majesty come to some of his houses neare London, and therefore we should yeeld to it presently, to keep a faire correspondence with them. *Dammee* and sink me (my Lords) what have we to do with them now? we had occasion to use them a while ago, but now that they have helpt us to conquer the *King*, we have done with them. We (my Lords) must be ruled, but the *Scots* (you see) are the *Lords of misrule*. For my part, I'll have nothing to do with them; I cannot abide a *Scot*; for, a *Scot* switch't me once, and crackt my crowne with my owne staffe, the very *virge* of my *Lord-Chamberlainship*, and now they are all coming to *switch* you too. They say *Hamilton* is their *Generall*. He is a *Duke*; I cannot abide a *Duke*, because I am not one my self; but do not I look as like a *Duke* as *Hamilton*? Well, I might have been one, if I had had wit enough to keep that *honor* which I had: But I had *honor*; what then had I to do with *wit*? That's for *poore Rogues*; for, *wit* and *honor* seldome meet together. I know many men count *swearing* to be *wit*; and if I had been so *witty* as to keep close to my *Oaths* at *Court*, and not broke them by playing false with the *King*, and forswear my selfe by taking the *State's Oaths*, and the *Scots Oath*: *Dammee* I had been as good a *Duke* before this time, as any *Scot* of them all. But hang *Dukes*, we are *Princes* now, an't please the *Commons*.

As for the *King's* coming to one of his houses, I know

not

not what that means, for he hath never a *house*: I say they are the *State's* houses rime out of mind, at least these seven yeares, ever since His Majesty was turn'd out of doores. I am afraid, if he should come to any of his *houses*, and we not agree with him, nor let him be *King* again, we shall be turn'd out of our House, and the *Commons* out of their House; and then we shall not have a house to hide our heads in. Mark ye too (my Lords) it must be to some one of his *houses* neare London. How d'ye like that? I am sure some of you have no *houses* neare London, and ye thought to make bold with His *Majesties*. S'death, I thought ye had *hous'd* him for that purpose, and will ye now give over *house-keeping*?

You say likewise, there is more reason to offer a *Treaty* with him now, then there was heretofore at *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*. Well (my Lords) you may do what you will. *Sink me* if I don't *live and die* with the House of *Commons*. I am for the *State*, I: But if you'll undo your selves with *reason*, I can't help it: you see the *Cavaliers* have undone themselves with it already. And if you'll beggar your selves with it too, and leave me to *keep house* here by my self, you may. You know the House of *Commons* and I are all one; and if you leave the House of *Peeres* to me and two or three more, the *Commons* House and ours will soone be *all one* too. Hang reason then, will you provoke the *State*, and leave my company for a little *reason*? You know whither my Lord of *Holland* is gone for his *reason*, & what's become of my Lord *Francis* and the rest, and where His *Majesty* is with all his *reason*, and where I am that have *reason*. You talk of *treating* at *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*. 'Tis true, His *Majesty* baffled us with *reason*: but how hath he prospered after it? I believe it never did any body any good; and I am sure, though we had *no reason* to get the better, yet we got the better with *no reason*: And therefore

because we thrived so well then without reason, I think 'tis wisely done to deal out of all *reason* ever since. And so (my Lords) I think I have tickled you for all your *Reasons*, against our sending of the three *Propositions* before a *Treaty*.

Now (my Lords) in the next place I'll prove the *Propositions* themselves to be so reasonable, that I know you'll never trust to your own *Reasons* againe. What though they are *unreasonable*, yet they are not so, if I keep to my former *distinction*, that is, not according to *Reason of State*, but the *States Reason*; for seeing a *Treaty* would quite undo the STATE, sure 'tis all the reason in the world, they should propound things out of *reason*, on purpose to prevent *Treating*. Therefore I'll mainteine the first *Proposition* is most reasonable, that the King should recall all *Proclamations and Declarations* against us; and well he 'scapes so too; for, I am sure he slander'd us sufficiently with a matter of truth, though he call'd us out of our Names: S'death! which of all us are *Rebels and Traitors*? Do I look like one? what, am I a *Faux* or a *Catesby*? I am sure I had no hand in this last *powder-plot*; nor the first neither: I scorn to be a *Traitor*, I dammee; what *Declarations and Proclamations* to cut off our *Heads*, and not recall them? you may chuse whether you'll have 'em recalled or no, but sink me I'll have 'em recall'd. What shall our heads be fitted with an *Iron Cap-case*, and set a sunning these *Dog-daies* upon the top of the house hereto spoile our *complexions*? dammee we must all come to't, if we be *Rebels and Traitors*: Traitor then in his face, if he will not recall his *Proclamations*; for, they will make us *traytors* in spight of our teeth, if we do not make them *treason* against the STATE. What though the House of Commons have made us *traytors* in many things in spight of our teeth? I hope the STATE may doe any thing, and be no *treason*:
Therefore

Therefore I say these *Proclamations* are *treason* against the STATE, and so not to recall them is to be a *traitor* against the STATE.

But the Cavaliers say, if the *King* recalls them, then he makes Himselfe and Them to be the *traytors*. And all the reason in the world beleeve me, for, do what we can we cannot make them *traytors*; why then should not hee make them so to our hands? for, I am sure we use them like *traytors*; and one had better be *traytors* (I think) than us'd so: But they are stubborne fellowes; their shoulders are broad enough to beare any thing, and therefore the STATE hath reason to make them the *Traytors*. I remember when they proclaim'd my Lord of *Effex* a *Traytor*, and my Lord *SAY* here a *traytor*, and all that stuck to them *traytors*. I am sure I stuck to them close, and yet I think we are never the worse *traytors* for being proclaim'd. What's a *Proclamation*? I am sure there are some in the STATE that have torn his Majesties *Proclamations*. How can they be *Traytors* then? But I'll tell you (my Lords) who are the *traytors*. The Kings *evill Councillors* are the *traytors*; for, they never left him till we shut him up close prisoner, and put them away. We are the Kings *great Councill* now: What though we will not let him come amongst us? yet I am sure we are his best *Councill*, for, we save him a great deale of trouble, and dispatch all things for him without a hearing, and so I hope we shall dispatch him too, if he will not recall. Judge you then (my Lords) whether he had not best recall his *Proclamations*.

Now, for the second *Proposition* for settling of *Church-Government*, there is all the Reason in the world for it: For, I say every *tub* ought to stand upon his *own bottom*: Why then should not the Church of *England* be settled upon a *Scotch bottom*? Here's such a deale of doe about a *Church and Religion*; I tell you plainly (my Lords) I am an

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Independent; I love it better than *Presbytery*, and yet I think they are both but a *tale of a tub*: But howsoever, it is an *ill tub* that hath no *bottom*: therefore (my Lords) I keep to my first saying, the *Church* will never be settled, till every *tub* stands upon its own *bottom*. Judge you then, whether I am not fit to be a *Reformer*: The Assembly sayes, we must reform according to the *Word of God*. For my part, I never trouble my selfe to read a word of it, and yet you know I am an *Assembly-man*. What need I read the *Word of God*, when I keep a *Chaplain* to read it? Besides, they say the reading of it would spoile my *oaths*, and I'll not leave one word of my *oaths* for all the word of God: But I am willing to be rid of the *Scotch Oath*, because they say 'tis taken out of the *Word of God*, and it may be so for ought I know. But yet I would faine keep the *Covenant*, because it hath kept many of us these hard times, and because it keeps the *Bishops* away from us. I cannot abide *Bishops*, they have so much learning and antiquity: I hate *Surplices* too, ever since Mr. *Henderson* preacht it up for the *Whore of Babylons* smock. It seems he had taken it up often, for he had many a *Bout* with her (as Mr. *Sedgwick* sayes) *now and anon too*: But hang the *whore of Babylon*; she is an *old whore*, and I am an *old man* (I thank God) but I cannot abide *old whores*, nor you neither (my Lords) I hope. Therefore judge you, whether His Majesty ought not to settle *Church-Government* presently, that all *old whores* may be excommunicated.

As for our *third Proposition*, for the settling of the *Militia*, I know not well what to say to it. This *Militia* is a hard word, and so is *publike Faith*; but yet the *Citizens* made a shift to swallow it. The *Devill's* in their guts, they will downe with any thing these hard times; and they will down with *Militia* too if we would let them. Sure, it is a very *hard word*; for, we have much ado to make His
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jesty part with it, and we are as loth to part with it as His Majesty. But I think we have made him part with it in spite of his teeth. What though he will not give it us? we have it already, and we are *fooles* (I think) if we do not keep it. What, take away our *Armes*? does he think to make the STATE *rosse the cudgells*, and be Popish again? The STATE shall order *Hammond* to trip up his heeles first, and if he cannot do it, *Rolph* shall go and make him *kick up his heels*. He is a member of the STATE's *Militia*; he may do it. *Dammee* he may, for, no body that I see dares question him. Judge you then, whether His Majesty had not as good let us cut his *throat* with the *Militia* as without it. And so (my Lords) I think the three *Propositions* are very *reasonable*, and that you will never trouble the STATE with any more *reasons* against them.

Now (my Lords) for the *Cities* Petition here before us, I have but one word more to say. I say, their Petition is worse than your *reasons*. They would have a *Treaty* too, and no *propositions*; but they are not halfe so mannerly to the STATE as your Lordships; for, you give *reasons*, but they bring not a word of *reason* that I can understand; and yet they will have no *way* to a *Treaty*. Hang 'em *Rascalls*; it is to save their *purses*. They had rather save their *purses*, than themselves or the STATE: but *Dammee* their *purses* and they are both *R. probates*, and therefore I say the STATE must damn them both. It's possible in time the STATE may hang them for all their services; I doe not meane the *Aldermen* in their own chaines; for, the *Troopers* will find other ware for execution: And well they deserve it; for, the poore *Army* hath taken the paines to conquer the Kingdom, and them too; and yet the *churles* are so miserable, they never could finde in their hearts to give them so much as one meale of *thanksgiving*; therefore I think after their cold *breakfast* before *Colchester*, they had best come
and

and fall aboard upon the *City*. I am sure they have some friends here that will bid them welcome: *Shippin* hath a thousand Horse for the purpose; and I think they will help pretty well to fetch recruits out of these dogged fellows of the *City*, and keep out a *personall Treaty*.

Then mark (my Lords) they'll have this *Treaty* to be in London. No other place will serve them to have the *King* in but London. I thought they had *Kings* enough at London already: but they'll have *King Charles*; that's a malignant word if you put *God* to it; for, it is the *Cavaliers* word, and I am for neither. I hope (my Lords) you will be so too, and not turn *Cavaliers* now at last; for, what should we do with *King Charles*? which of us can look him in the face? Dammee, I think you have as little reason to treat with him as I. Well (my Lords) I have spoken my mind; I pray you do not order the printing of my *Speech*; for, I would not have every body know my mind before my selfe. I should speak oftener if I might be lesse in print; for, a *Speech* in print is neer kin to *learning*, and I hate *learning*; I hate a *King*; I hate *King Charles*. Do you do so too, and let's love one another, and be obedient to the STATE: For, Dammee, sink me and rammee nine miles into the bottom of a hedge, we are undone, if we do not make slaves of the *City*, and keep off a *personal Treaty*.

FINIS.